1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 They are the lowest in the scale, and they are prohibited from intermarrying with the other or high caste Badagas, as long as they are sons to them." The Toreya does the menial duties for the tribe. He is the village servant, carries the corpses to the burning-ground, conveys the news of a death from village to village, is the first to get shaved when a death occurs, and is sent along with a woman when she is going to visit her mother or mother-
[795] in-law at a distance from her own home. "The Udayas, Adhikāris and Kanakas are Lingāyats in religion, and the other three, the Hāruvas, Badagas, and Toreyas are Saivites." Of the six divisions referred to, the Udayas and Toreyas are endogamous, but intermarriage is permissible between the other four. At the census, 1891, a large number of Badagas returned as their sub-division Vakkaliga, which means cultivator, and is the name of the great cultivating caste of Mysore.

113 Seven miles west of Coonoor is a village named
•[360] Athikārihatti, or village of the Athikāri or Adhikāri section of the Badagas. "The story goes that these people, under a leader named Karibetta Rāya, came from Sarigūr in Mysore territory, and settled first at Nellitural (a short distance south-west of Mettupālaiyam) and afterwards at Tūdūr (on the plateau west of Kulakambi) and Tadasimarahatti (to the north-west of Melūr), and that it was they who erected the sculptured
[172] cromlechs of Tūdūr and Melūr. Tūdūr and Tadasimarahatti are now both deserted; but in the former a cattle kraal, an old shrine, and a pit for fire-walking may still be seen, and in the latter another kraal, and one of the raised stone platforms called mandaikallu by the Badagas. Tradition says that the Badagas left these places and founded Athikārihatti and its hamlets instead, because the Kurumbas round about continually troubled

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

them with their magic arts, and indeed killed by sorcery several of their most prominent citizens."*

Like other Canarese people, the Badagas have exogamous septs or kūlas, of which Māri, Madhave (marriage), Kastūri (musk), and Belli (silver) are examples. A very large number of families belong to the Māri and Madhave septs, which were time after time given as the sept name in reply to my enquiries. It may be noted that Belli occurs as an exogamous sept of the Canarese classes Vakkaliga, Toreya, and Kuruba, and Kastūri is recorded in my notes as a sept of the Vakkaligas and Telugu Kammas.

The Badagas dwell in extensive villages, generally situated on the summit of a low hillock, composed of rows of comfortable thatched or tiled houses, and surrounded by the fields, which yield the crops. The houses are not separate tenements, but a line of dwellings under one continuous roof, and divided by party walls. Sometimes there are two or three, or more lines, forming streets. Each house is partitioned off into an outer (edumane) and inner apartment (ozhaga or ōgamane). If the family has cows or buffaloes yielding milk, a portion of the latter is converted into a milk-house (hāgōttu), in which the milk is stored, and which no woman may enter. Even males who are under pollution, from having touched or passed near a Kota or Paraiyan, or other cause, may not enter it until they have had a ceremonial bath. To some houses a loft, made of bamboo posts, is added, to serve as a store-house. In every Badaga village there is a raised platform composed of a single boulder or several stones with an erect stone slab set up thereon, called sūththu

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

kallu. There is, further, a platform, made of bricks and mud, called mandhe kallu, whereon the Badagas, when not working, sit at ease. In their folk-tales men seated thereon are made to give information concerning the approach of strangers to the village. Strangers, who are not Badagas, are called Holeya. The Rev. G. Richter gives* Badaga Holeya as a division of the lowly Holeyas, who came to Coorg from the Mysore country. In front of the houses, the operations of drying and threshing grain are carried out. The cattle are kept in stone kraals, or covered sheds close to the habitations, and the litter is kept till it is knee or waist deep, and then carried away as manure for the Badaga's land, or planters' estates.

"Nobody," it has been said,† "can beat the Badaga at making mother earth produce to her utmost capacity, unless it be a Chinese gardener. To-day we see a portion of the hill side covered with rocks and boulders. The Badagas become possessed of this scene of chaos, and turn out into the place in hundreds, reducing it, in a few weeks, to neat order. The unwieldy boulders, having been rolled aside, serve their purpose by being turned into a wall to keep out cattle, etc. The soil is pounded and worried until it becomes amenable to reason, and next we see a green crop running in waves over the surface. The Badagas are the most progressive of all the hill tribes, and always willing to test any new method of cultivation, or new crops brought to their notice by the Nilgiri Horticultural Society."

Writing in 1832, Harkness states‡ that "on leaving his house in the morning the Burgher pays his adoration

* Manual of Coorg. † Pioneer, 4th October 1907.

‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

782 close at hand, the milk is taken to the temple, and given
788 to the pūjāri. With a portion of the milk some plantain fruits are made into a pulp, and given to an Udaya, who
[264] throws them into a stream. The boy is treated with some respect by his family during the period when he milks the animal, and is given food first. This he must eat off a plate made of *Argyreia*, or plantain leaves.

• 361 Besides the hāgōttu within the house, the Badagas have, at certain places, separate dairy-houses near a temple dedicated to Heththeswāmi, of which the one at Bairaganni (or Bērganni) appears to be the most im-
793 portant. The dairy pūjāri is here, like the Toda palol, a celibate. In 1905, he was a young lad, whom my
[123] Brāhman assistant set forth to photograph. He was, however, met at a distance from the village by a headman, who assured him that he could not take the photograph without the sanction of fifteen villages. The pūjāri is not allowed to wander freely about the village, or talk to grown-up women. He cooks his own food within the temple grounds, and wears his cloth thrown loosely over his body. Once a year, on the occasion of a festival, he is presented with new cloths and turban, which alone he may wear. He must be a strict vege-
787 tarian. A desire to marry and abandon the priesthood is believed to be conveyed in dreams, or through one inspired. Before leaving the temple service, he must train his successor in the duties, and retires with the gains acquired by the sale of the products of the herd
[778] and temple offerings. The village of Bairaganni is regarded as sacred, and possesses no holagudi (menstrual hut).

[782] Bishop Whitehead adds that "buffaloes are given as offerings to the temple at Bairaganni, and become the property of the pūjāri, who milks them, and uses the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

101 (630) small district of Tamil Nadu, altogether covering 2543 sq. km. This is the homeland of the Badaga, Toda, Kota and Kurumba communities; nowadays numerous other peoples also live there.

133 (361) The plateau is generally in the elevation of 2000–2500 m., and one peak, Doddabetta, among the highest in peninsular India, reaches 2633 m. In contrast to this the western quarter of the district averages around 1000 m. in elevation and forms a major portion of the Wainad Plateau. The main indigenous communities there are the Panias, Kurumbas, Nayakas and Chettis, but there are also a few Badagas (Wainad Gaudas) and Kotas.

(137) (136) (175) The escarpment of the Nilgiri Plateau falls away very steeply, and on the eastern edge actually drops some 2000 m. in about 3 km. These slopes always have been covered in dense subtropical jungle which harbours tigers, leopards, buffaloes, elephants, snakes and malarial mosquitoes, and formerly dangerous hunting tribes still feared for their sorcery. Until the advent of the British early in the nineteenth century the three communities living on the summit of these hills—Badagas, Kotas and Todas—were therefore extremely isolated.

132 (133) The undulating, unevenly wooded downland making up the entire plateau experiences considerable variation in rainfall. The Nilgiris receive from 60 to 160 inches of rain annually, depending on the topographical aspect. Western parts of the plateau rely mainly on the southwest monsoon in July and August; the eastern parts derive much of their rain from the northeastern monsoon in October-December. The average mean daily temperature in the centre of the plateau is around 15°C, while in the Wainad the climate is much hotter and wetter.

175 177 (361) For the mildly invigorating qualities of its climate the plateau is therefore scarcely rivalled anywhere in the Asian tropics, and from 1819 British residents began to take advantage of this healthful region. Soon the towns of Coonoor, Kotagiri and Ootacamund (the district headquarters), and the military station at Wellington, took shape and expanded. More recently the town of Gudalur (Gudalu:ru) has grown up in the Wainad, at the foot of the western escarpment. Ootacamund, Coonoor and Gudalur are now the headquarters of the three administrative divisions or *taluks* into which the district was divided by the British.

(631)

THE NILGIRI POPULATION

When the British began to settle on the plateau they brought with

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

'Because of the trouble that the Mohammedan made for us . . . we have come, making ourselves to escape. This country is yours . . . We are helpless. You must help us.' Such is the Kota version. In response a council of Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas allowed the Badagas to settle provided they paid the now-customary tribute to these tribes (Harkness, 1832, 106–107; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 735–754; Rhiem, 1900, 498; Emeneau, 1946, 257; see below, 113–116). Not all Badagas migrated within a generation or two, and while some may have been fleeing from Moslem soldiers other bands came later for other reasons.

Clearly there were several waves of immigrants brought sometimes by famine conditions, sometimes by Moslem attempts at forcible conversion, sometimes perhaps by a Mysorean policy to colonize the hills. The Kotas are explicit that once a few Badagas had arrived more came over the succeeding years (Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 3; Emeneau, 1946, 259). The early explorers Ward (1821) and Harkness (1832) both recorded that the people had settled over many years, and Ward added that some had been 'invited' there by the chieftains of Ummattu:r, under whose suzerainty the Nilgiris had rested for a period. This story suggests that some Badagas, refugees from famine rather than Islam, had settled in the hills as part of a pacification programme aimed at increasing the revenue there.[10] Others, it is popularly believed, fled from Moslem rulers who wanted to marry or seduce good-looking Hindu girls. In search of refuge from this threat they travelled up to 150 km. On reaching the hills the women were given facial tattoos and dressed in white cloths (as they still are) to resemble Kota women, while men adopted the Toda shawl for greater warmth: in effect a conscious and lasting attempt was made to resemble the hill tribes and to adopt a tribal model of social organization.[11]

The early pattern of occupancy was one of scattered homesteads in widely separated parts of the plateau. These clusters of small wooden huts grew into lineage centres and so into villages, usually maintaining strict exogamy. Until the advent of *Pax Britannica* in the early nineteenth century, the houses were built around three sides of a plaza, with its open side facing downhill for defensive purposes. Today only De:na:du preserves that plan; the other villages, of which there are about 370, are made up of several parallel lines of houses running along a hillside. Traditionally the senior brother among the patrilineal descendants of the founder

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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Map 1. Map to illustrate the migrations of the Badagas.

615 realm in 1613. Badaga Wodeas now claim to have come with this man and to be descended through him from the royal house of Mysore (Grigg, 1880, 218, 220, 225; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754–755; Rice 1897, vol. II, 296, 364; Hayavadana Rao, 1930, vol. V, 862). Some came from the Lingayat monastery at Aṅgala and first settled at a subsequently deserted village called Ukkupalle, near

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

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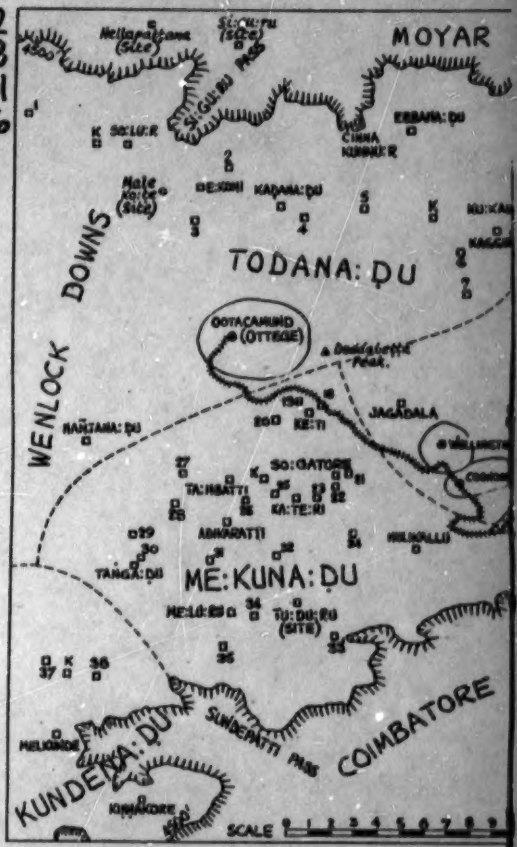
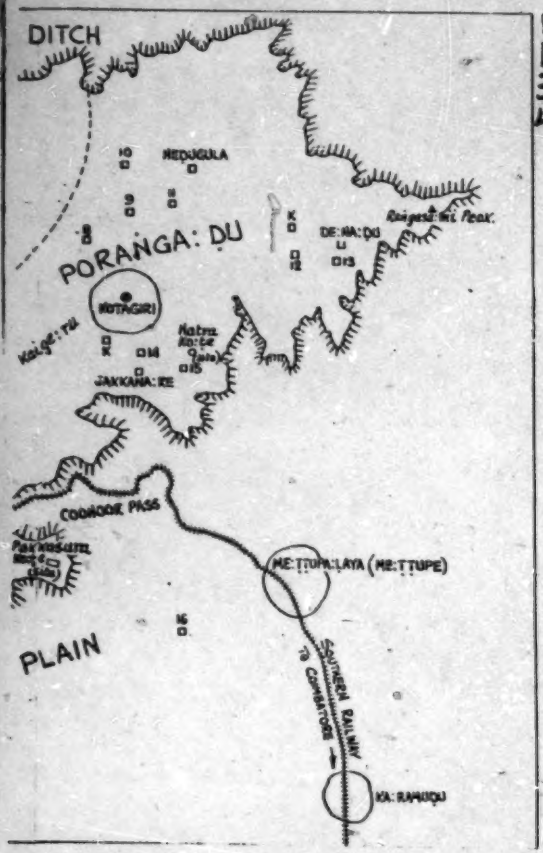


Map 2. The Nilgiri Plateau

Key: K Kota villages; 19 Aĉĉanakal; 28 Ba:kola; 10 Beragani; 37 Bikkaṭṭi; 15 Da:bakambe; 31 De:vaso:le (bazaar); 8 Dimbaṭṭi; 17 Eḍapaḷḷi; 6 Hajju:r; 30 Ha:lakore; 4 Ha:laṭṭi; 7 Honatale; 18 Hulla:ḍa; 2 Hullaṭṭi; 3 Kallaṭṭi; 9 Kappaṭṭi; 20 Kereha:da; 32 Koḍe:ru; 33 Kolekombe (bazaar); 29 Manihaṭṭi; 35 Manjakombe; 36 Manju:ru; 34 Me:lu:ru Hosa:ṭṭi; 26 Muttina:ḍu; 16

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



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Nellitore; 21 Ne:rikambe; 27 Nunduwa; 1 O:mṇow (Toda temple); 25 O:ranayi; 22 Sakkalaṭṭi; 14 Sakkata; 24 Se:las (bazaar); 13 So:lu:rmaṭṭa (bazaar); 11 Suḷḷigu:ḍu; 12 Tumbimale; 5 Tu:ne:ri; 23 Tu:raṭṭi. Villages that head COMMUNES are marked on the map by name; as also are modern TOWNS. Old *fortresses* are indicated in italics.

[p. 25]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 centuries ago and was prompted by shortage of land around some Nilgiri villages and by the acute poverty of farm-land in the Kundena:ḍu area. The Mauntadan Chettis amongst whom the Wainad Gaudas settled came originally from the same Kongu country which had been the homeland of many Gaudas. Unlike the Gaudas, however, these Chettis settled directly in the Wainad in medieval times, without pausing first on the Nilgiri Plateau. So close is the association between Mauntadan Chettis and the Todana:ḍu Badagas that these two communities also used to exchange visits on the occasion of some festivals and funerals. Certain Chettis living in the Muḍumalai National Park of the Wainad are called Huliala Gaudas: they went there from the nearby Badaga village of Hullaṭṭi, on the Nilgiris, but now intermarry only with Mauntadan Chettis. The Wainad Gaudas otherwise do not marry with these Chettis although they did so in previous centuries. The two communities interdine and attend each other's ceremonies.

BADAGAS OF HA:SANU:RU

• 361 Some seven kilometres east of Ha:sanu:ru in the Biligiri Rangan Hills are seven Badaga villages; an eighth lies in Karnataka, thirteen kilometres to the north of that town. These villages are in jungle clearings at an elevation of a thousand metres and were established there at least two centuries ago by Badagas who were
614 forced out of the northern part of the Nilgiris by a famine.[29] The Ha:sanu:ru Gaudas are explicit that they had been Gangadikara Gaudas in Mysore; and they retain precisely the same stories about their flight as are still recounted in the Nilgiris (see above, particularly note 10; Thurston, 1909, Vol. I, 75, and Vol. III, 256; Nambiar, Bharathi, 1965, 3).

TOREAS

615 No legend of a separate origin has been collected from the Toreas. There is a caste of Kannada-speaking Toreas now living in Coimbatore, Salem and Mysore Districts, with whom Badaga Toreas occasionally arrange marriages; but since the dialects of the two differ the practice is most uncommon. Those found in the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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2

Place-Names and Cultural Ecology

A NEW SYSTEM OF THERAPY

The Badagas thus came to the Nilgiri Plateau as refugees and settled there on land that in part they cleared from virgin tropical montane forest and that was in part granted them by a council of men from the indigenous Toda, Kota and Kurumba tribes, people who had already occupied a thin scattering of hamlets on the hills for perhaps a millennium.

The Badagas can thus be seen, at least in the first three centuries of their occupation, as frontiersmen whose population and number of settlements were slowly increasing over the decades. In 1603 there were only about 500 Badagas living in three villages (Finicio, 1603, 723). By the first British census, in 1812, they numbered 2207 people. But at this time, to judge by the same rough census (which perhaps excluded children), they had already become the numerically dominant community in the area: the Todas numbered only 179 (compared with possibly 1000 in 1603), and the Kotas 130; the Kurumbas and Irulas, two tribes living on the lower Nilgiri slopes, were not counted at all, though they were certainly there. Furthermore, during this same period of two centuries the Badaga settlement pattern became such a dispersed one that their hamlets increased in number from three to over 350. This expansion was in part the effect of fertile land being available and in part the result of an effective indigenous therapeutic system.

By the time of the first British visits, the Badagas had clearly

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

and eighteenth centuries when the total Badaga population was no more than one or two thousand people, and their density of settlement only about five to ten people per square mile, it might even have taken several generations before a wooden hut or cluster of huts would have become sufficiently well known to the neighbours living some kilometers away to merit the acquisition of a site-name. 'The name of a village... depends for its existence upon the people in the neighbouring villages, not upon those who live in it: the latter are usually content in conversation to refer to it as "here" or "home" or "this village" as distinct from other places. It is the size of the area or population throughout which a place-name is accepted as an identificatory label that determines its persistence and permanence.' (Wainwright, 1962, 58)

As one might expect, not all of the early Badaga settlements did persist. Legend records the names of several dozen that are no longer to be found. Best remembered perhaps is the commune of Tu:ḍu:ru (× tu:ḍe + u:ru = hill mango + head village), which once consisted of nineteen hamlets.[4] Tradition says that the Badagas left these places and founded Athikarihatti and its hamlets instead, because the Kurumbas round about continually troubled them with their magic arts and indeed killed by sorcery several of their most prominent citizens (Francis, 1908, 316). A perhaps soberer reason for the abandonment, offered by modern informants, is that the population of all nineteen hamlets was decimated by an epidemic disease some 150 or 200 years ago.[5] Scattered elsewhere across the plateau were several other abandoned hamlets, among them Neddilu, Moritore, Billimale, Eḍeyu:ru, and a number clustered together on land that has since been bought up by large tea plantations on the southeastern edge of the plateau, around Hulikal.[6]

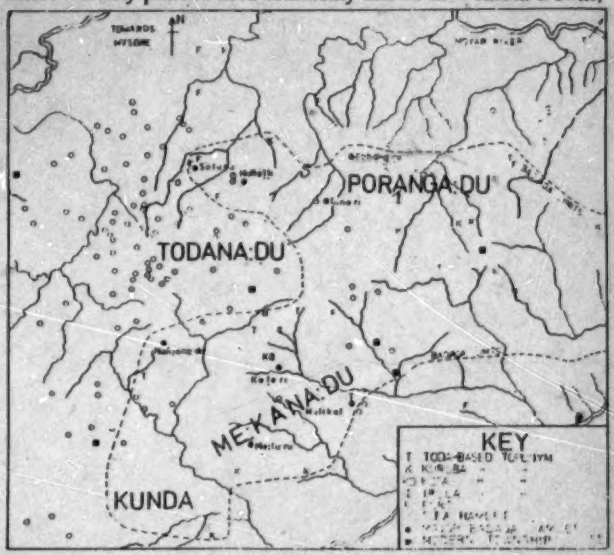
It appears that during the early phase of their settlement the Badagas came into frequent contact with Todas and Kurumbas and took over a number of sites from both tribes. The unique instances of toponyms referring to Kotas and Irulas (?) suggest that these tribes, by contrast, were insignificant and perhaps not very numerous on the plateau. The Kotas today occupy only six villages there, and the Irulas fewer yet.

The question naturally arises as to how the refugees were able to displace Toda and Kurumba homes. Local tradition offers only a partial answer. As we have seen, it is recorded in Kota folklore that when the first Badaga refugees reached the Nilgiris, they met

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

with a council from the three resident tribes: 'Because of the trouble that the Mohammedan made for us we have come, making ourselves to escape. This country is yours. We are helpless. You must help us.' (Emeneau, 1946, 257; cf. Ouchterlony, 1848, 81) The Toda sites they were given may have been uninhabited religious centers and unoccupied hamlets belonging previously to Toda clans that had died out.[7] The Kurumba sites were more probably relinquished to the Badagas only after the latter had committed some atrocities against the Kurumba sorcerers alleged to live in them. The burning of Kurumba hamlets was certainly a fairly common act of frightened Badagas during the nineteenth century, and numerous instances of it have been recorded by contemporary writers.

As an effect of the peaceful Badaga incursion, we can now identify with the help of a map (Map 3) some micro-environmental differences in the settlement patterns of Badagas, Todas and Kurumbas. The Todas now occupy the higher and more westerly plateau area commonly known as Wenlock Downs,



Map 3 Nilgiri place-names

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

an undulating grassland interspersed with temperate woodland in the dales. The elevation of their hamlets ranges from 2,400 to 2,000 meters. The Badagas now occupy the eastern half of the Nilgiri Plateau, which is heavily cultivated by them as well as by more recent settlers, and the settled parts of which range in elevation from 2,200 (Mainele hamlet) to 1,200 meters (Hiriyasi:ge). The Kurumbas and Irulas are to be found only on the jungle-covered escarpments and lower slopes of the Nilgiris, at elevations varying from 1,500 down to 450 meters. The highest Badaga hamlet with a 'Kurumba' toponym occurs however at 1,800 meters and points to the displacement of Kurumba villagers towards lower and less healthy levels. On the other hand we find that the lowest Badaga hamlet with a 'Toda' toponym (Pudumandu) occurs at an elevation of 1,700; indeed five such Badaga hamlets lie lower than any present-day Toda hamlet. This indicates a displacement of the Todas into higher elevations (by what means we cannot tell, unless it be that the Badaga immigrants introduced diseases for which the Todas had no immunity) and shows that Badaga settlement somehow resulted in the creation of a zone between 1,500 and 2,000 meters which was exclusively their own and which merged at its upper limits with the areas of Toda settlement and at its lower limits with the highest of Kurumba settlements. What was it that the Badagas found attractive about this zone in the Nilgiris?

We can find additional evidence for the kind of ecological niche in which they located themselves from the village names. A revealing break-down of those Badaga toponyms referring to vegetation is summarized here:

Number of villages with, as referrents:

forest	12
swamp	5
grass	13
bracken	2
tree	33
shrub	19
other plant species	17

Some further information about the floral chracteristics of the Badaga zone can be gleaned from a different type of break-down, one that takes into account those toponyms which refer to a particular biome or a plant species with known and somewhat restricted ecological distribution:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

103 Number of villages with, as referents:

dense forest	28
forest verge and clearing	33
open grassland	16
swampland	5

175 We obviously cannot push the meaning of such figures very far, but they do suggest that (at least for floral toponyms) more often than
• 361 not the Badagas settled elsewhere than in the open but exposed grasslands favoured by the Todas for grazing. Beyond telling us the obvious—that swampland was a least-favoured locale for Badaga settlement—the latter break-down does make it clear that within their zone of occupation dense forests and clearings or the verges of woodland were much favoured over grasslands or savannas for village sites. The extra work needed to make fields by slash-and-burn techniques in the forest was more than compensated for by the much richer soil available there as compared with the lateritic grasslands and swamps where the Toda buffalo herds roamed. (Hamlets with toponyms referring to rocks and stones, it is important to note, are often located in areas that are or were forested; large trees beside their temples may still bear witness to this.)

103 Among the toponyms referring to particular plant species there are two mentioning millet:

Battakore (any millet)—at 2,050 meters
Togalatti (jungle dholl, a wild millet)—at 1,900 meters

Gamble's admirable *Flora of Madras* lists the ranges in elevation for the following millets (among others), all of them important in the Nilgiri economy:[8]

korali—Italian millet *(Setaria italica)*—'widely cultivated'
sa:me—slender millet (*Panicum miliare*)—up to 2,150 meters
tene or navane—black Italian millet *(Sacciolepis indica)*—up to 2,000 meters
barugu—Kodo millet *(Paspalum scrobiculatum)*—up to 2,150 meters
ra:gi—finger millet *(Eleusine coracana)*—up to 1,500 meters

243 Metz's mid-nineteenth century account of the chief millets of the Nilgiris adds a little to our understanding of micro-environmental differences in their cultivation on the plateau:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

243 The most common grain is what the natives call Korrali, which... grows best in the colder districts Kundenad and Mekanad where the other finer grains do not grow.

Sāmé... which is considered the best kind of the several small grains of the Hills. It grows in the warmer districts and must have better soil.

Tenney or Navoney... which also grows only in warm places...

Varagu... which grows only on the slopes of the Hills in feverish places and requires... a warmer climate, than the Hill plateau affords.

Ragy... grows also only in places where the cold Monsoon wind cannot come... (Metz, 1864, 152-153)

In general a careful observer, the Rev. Metz (who roamed the plateau daily for a quarter of a century) mentions here *baragu* and *ra:gi*, two species that were cultivated mainly by Kurumbas and Irulas on the lower slopes because of the greater warmth needed. Though grown occasionally in the lowest Badaga hamlets, neither was an important crop. The other three species were the main subsistence crops for Badagas.

175 We are led to the conclusion that the Badagas displaced
177 Kurumbas and perhaps some Todas as well in the zone which they
•361 made their own, and which was best suited to dry cultivation of their millets. While the upper limits of the zone were apparently determined by the viability of these millets, the lower limits may
[182] have been determined not by horticultural requirements but by the elevation above which malarial parasites will not breed, about 1,000 meters. (The full development of the *plasmodium* parasites in mosquito requires a minimum daily temperature of 60°F (15.6°C), which is only maintained at the lower elevations relegated to the Kurumbas, Irulas and others.) In the mid-nineteenth century Hodgson (1856, 499-500) noted plateau sites 'where formerly Kurumba villages existed but where none are now found. It is well known that the Kurumbas were driven down from the healthful summit to the malarious slope of the hills...'

318 Not only did the Badaga settlers displace residents from these
[175] several tribes: they also removed much forest cover and radically changed the Nilgiri ecology, in the view of many experts, well before the first British planters arrived in the eighteen- forties.

There can be little question that these tracts, which are now

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

318 given up almost wholly to the plough or hoe, were once covered with dense jungle, except the more stony ridges and heights. This is evidenced by the numerous shóla trees, single or in groups of two or three, standing generally near a rock or stream, which have owed their escape from the general destruction to the superstitious fears of the people, who regard them as the homes of the unseen genii of the place. The frequent occurrence of the suffix *kàd*, jungle or forest, in names of localities, where now hardly a tree is to be found, is additional proof . . . (Grigg, 1880, 9).

000 This pronounced ecological change has generated a number of studies exploring the likelihood that the more westerly grasslands now occupied by the Todas were also originally heavily forested areas that succumbed to annual fires started by these herdsmen (e.g., Noble, 1967; Blasco 1971). While that question is of little significance in our present study, it does emphasize the manner in which ecological change may be so devastating as to alter the environment almost beyond recognition after a toponym has been assigned to a site there.

NOTES

103 128 1. The + used in these lists merely links the morphemes in a word, and is not to be considered as a symbol of juncture. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of times a toponym is repeated.

2. On cold nights frost can form.

195 3. Euphony is an important feature of Badaga speech and is a characteristic in hundreds of their proverbs; e.g.,
hattu jina sa:la/
ten days debt,
ondu jina su:la
one day venereal disease:
i.e., 'For ten days it will be a debt, but one day it will become a venereal sore.'

103 4. These were Tu:ḍu:ru, Kaṇaṭṭi, Kolekombe, Kuriyamále, Bekode, Tuha:ḍa, Hatare, Malligo:re, Tiddere, Kaggeri, Hayu:ru, Koṇamotta, Ha:ḷaṭṭaṇe, Ha:ḷa:ḍa, Honnimaṇṇu, Baṇahaṭṭi, and Gonne:ri. Since these names are almost unknown to present-day Badagas we cannot be precise about their pronunciation or meaning.

000 5. Remnants of this population now live in nearby Ko:ḍe:ru and can still recall something of their history.

361 103 6. These latter were named Beṭṭaṭṭi, Koṭaṭṭi, Kareko:ṭe, Banahaṭṭi, Ta:veka:ḍu, Beṇḍaṭṭi, and Pannamaḍai.

000 7. During the past century there have been several well-documented cases of Toda hamlets being abandoned.

133 8. It may be recalled that the Nilgiri Plateau rises to an elevation of 2634 meters in Doḍḍabeṭṭa, 'Great Mountain'.

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21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

609 commensal rules, valid as much among Toreas as among higher phratries, have often come as a surprise to visiting Brahmins, who find themselves excluded from the more sacred room or from receiving food there. Badagas, even Toreas, do not recognize high ritual status when found outside the Nilgiri system. The plains Brahmins of course rationalize the rebuff by considering the Badagas as Śudras, through whom no Brahmin would pollute himself by accepting their often non-vegetarian food.[21]

HA:SANU:RU BADAGAS

●361 621 614 615 The eight villages of this community, lying in the low Biligiri Rangan Hills some forty kilometers northeast of the Nilgiris, belong to eleven clans which are distinct from those of the plateau. These clans form three phratries—Wodea, Gauda and Torea. A clan of Ha:ruvas is within the Gauda phratry.

614 The two Wodea clans rank highest; they intermarry with each other, with Wodeas of the Nilgiris, and recently with the Wodea caste inhabiting villages near Sa:mara:jnagar (southern Mysore). Like other Wodeas those of Ha:sanu:ru are vegetarian and Lingayat. They allow the Ha:ruva clan to eat in the inner room of their houses, but for the past century since they began intermarriage with Mysore villages these Wodeas have stopped allowing other Badagas (who are non-vegetarian) to eat in their houses.

At the other end of the social hierarchy are two clans of Toreas, who intermarry chiefly with the two clans of Nilgiri Toreas, but also with neighbours of the opposite clan in Kottadai, their village near Ha:sanu:ru, and in some cases these Toreas have intermarried with the Torea caste found near Sa:mara:jnagar.

Between these two poles are four Ha:ruva families and about one hundred and fifteen Gauda families; (the Wodeas number about twenty five families, and Toreas twenty). The Ha:ruvas and Gaudas are divided into seven clans (see Diagram 7), generally identified by their place of origin in the Nilgiris. Members of each clan may intermarry with any of the other six clans, and also with Gaudas of the Nilgiris. However, because of their common origin, the Gaudas of Ku:kalu clan, for example, may not marry Gaudas from Ku:kalu village in the Nilgiris.

(615) There is a sort of hierarchy within this phratry, Ku:kalu clan and the Ha:ruvas ranking higher than the others. Ku:kalu

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

essentially a relationship of mutual obligation which binds a specific Badaga family to a specific Kota one and are inherited on either side through the males. A Badaga can never change to a new Kota partner unless the old one agrees to it at a joint meeting of their village councils, which rarely happens. The Kota produces certain types of artifact for a Badaga, who in return gives him grain and cloth. Because of the great disparity in numbers between the Badagas and Kotas,[2] it is necessary for each Kota family to maintain such ties with perhaps fifty to 100 Badaga households. In each case, whether or not the services required are those of a woman and whether or not the initial request comes from a woman, all mediation between the two associated families is through the male heads of each.

There are in the entire Nilgiris only seven Kota villages; but these are widely and evenly dispersed, being on the average fourteen kilometers apart (and further by road). One village at Gudalu:ru is in the Wainad, on the slope west of the Nilgiri Plateau; the larger two of the indigenous political divisions each contain two villages; and the remaining two divisions of the plateau have one village each. This distribution, whether originally so planned or not,[3] results in the Kotas being conveniently accessible to all Badaga and Toda settlements; for there is not a settlement anywhere on the plateau that would be more than a morning's walk from a Kota village. Normally each Badaga village is linked with whichever Kota village happens to be closest.

The usual pattern for activating the exchange relationship is for the Badaga to request his Kota partner's *services* whenever the need arises but to order his *products* once each year; while the Kota in turn comes for a dole of clothes and foodstuffs once a year (Harkness, 1832, 78–79; Ranga, 1934, 72). There exists a general understanding that the Kota man should inquire annually of each Badaga partner what items will be required for the coming months. The Badaga then gives him a list of items, while the Badaga's wife passes on to him another list of things required from the Kota's wife. The Kota then announces that he will be returning on a specific day (generally a Monday, the weekly holiday) just before the major Kota festival of Kambattaraya (early January), and the Badaga knows that he must have gifts ready for the Kota on this occasion. On that day the Kota usually comes with his wife and children, bringing the ordered goods if they are ready. The

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1963), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1908 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vaso:le, Kolekombe, Se:las, Gudalu:ru, Manju:ru, Ki:kotagiri, Nedugula, and Naduvatta; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. i, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India*.

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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Pl 1

[following p. 248-A]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

Plate Section

361 Plate 1 A typical Badaga hamlet (Dimbaṭṭi), above the valley floor but sheltered by a hill from the south-west monsoons. Note the strips of land running downhill. The well in the foreground is new.

342 Plate 2 Typical work-space (ke:ri) in front of houses in Ka:ṯe:ri. The two-story house is a twentieth-century innovation. The poles carry electricity to most houses.

291 Plate 3 A Toda couple, both wearing embroidered shawls (pu:txuḷy).

301 643 Plate 4 Pāda Rāja Gowder, paramount chief of the Badagas since 1956, and headman of Tu:ne:ri. His gold earrings are of a traditional design.

302 877 Plate 5 Two schoolgirls carrying their lunch, O:ranaṛi hamlet. Both have an auspicious mark on the brow.

302 759 Plate 6 Sithamma, grandmother of the girls in Plate 5; she lived in O:ranayi, was a traditional Lingayat, and a noted herbal therapist. Her gold ornaments are traditional.

000 Plate 7 Kumba:ras in Kempola hamlet, here embrouded in mist.

177 764 Plate 8 Kotas from Kolmel playing for Lingayats dancing during a funeral at the neighbouring hamlet of O:ranayi, 1963. Women do not dance in public.

243 231 Plate 9 Cattle threshing grain on a work-space in O:ranayi. The hired labourers are non-Badagas.

496 291 Plate 10 Women's work-group outside a house in Ki:ṛkunda village. All wear sarees in place of the traditional dress.

778 782 Plate 11 The Goddess Hette with bell, a wreathed *linga*, and a tray with plantain and half-coconut offerings, decorating a Lingayat temple in Ka:ṯe:ri.

623 632 Plate 12 Council of elders at Ke:ti village. The commune headman is on the extreme left, in white.

[p. 25]

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

128 curable illnesses is described (Chapters 5-8). Some emphasis is placed on reproduction and sexuality (Chapters 3 and 4), because reproductive success is the ultimate test of any society's adaptation to its environment. The role of the therapist and associated specialists, and their relations with their clients, is an extremely critical factor in the maintenance of a folk medical system. Equally important to the propagation of this knowledge is the recruitment of apprentices and the relationships they develop with a therapist (Chapter 10). Care of the living body and the advent of death receive some consideration (Chapters 2 and 9). Finally, this study may be of particular interest to pharmacologists because it identifies each of the substances used in every medicament described (Chapters 4-7).

182 Differential interaction between Badagas and their environment — an environment which does of course include disease organisms — has over some 20 generations led to a survival of the healthier individuals, a higher fertility, and in general a steady expansion of their occupancy of the Nilgiri Massif, beginning with the founding of Tu:ne:ri village in the sixteenth century on the arrival of a few dozen refugees, and culminating in the very large and prosperous population of today (Diagram 1). The medical ethnography which follows will attempt to delineate the important factors in their adaptation.

Introducing the Badagas

101 1.2. The Badagas are a community of Hindu peasants who numbered
161 104,919 people in the official census of 1971. They live almost en-
131 tirely on the Nilgiri Massif, which is in the westernmost corner of
241 Tamil Nadu State, India, some 11°N from the Equator. The great
majority of them are potato, cabbage and tea cultivators, but until
(433) the early years of this century they were farming such subsistence
crops as barley, wheat, and several millets. The fields surround their
villages and farms. They rarely irrigate, but rely instead on the two
(233) regular monsoons. Some people also keep herds of buffalo and
cattle for milk and other dairy products, but not for meat.

861 Their long rows of brick houses lie along the leeward slopes of
368 the hills, and are thus protected from the worst of the rains. In every
771 village there are also temples or shrines to various Hindu gods.
Badagas are nearly all Hindus of Saivite persuasion; two small but
significant minorities are the Lingayats and the Christians.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

(2) The lower plateau, ranging from about 5,000 to a peak at 8,640 feet, where over 350 Badaga hamlets are located. (3) The escarpments and lower slopes, primarily the home of the Kurumba and Iruḷa tribes, who are swidden cultivators still practising some hunting and gathering, and important to Badagas for their sorcery. (4) The more westerly Waina:ḍ Plateau, averaging about 3,000 feet in elevation, which is the territory of Kurumbas, Paṇiyas, Maunta:-dan and Waina:ḍ Chettis, and of eight hamlets of Badagas, here known as Waina:ḍ Gaudas. Irrigated rice, and tea and coffee, are the most important crops there today.

Since the culture of the Waina:ḍ Gaudas has been dealt with elsewhere (Ranga 1934; Hockings 1979a), and in any case is more like a variant subculture of the Maunta:dan Chettis than like that of the Nilgiri Badagas, I will pay no attention to them in the present study, but confine myself to the Badagas of the Nilgiri Massif.

The environs of these Nilgiri Badagas have been discussed in some detail in a paper on Badaga placenames and cultural ecology (Hockings 1974), and have been accurately described in the following account of the lower and upper plateau:

> The plateau is a true tableland, its average height being very uniform. But there is not a square mile of level ground in the whole of it, its surface being broken by endless undulations which in places swell into considerable and distinct ranges. It rises most abruptly from the plains below it; and on the west. . .its sides are often sheer, bare walls, hundreds of feet in height and too steep even for trees to obtain a footing on them. Elsewhere dense forest covers almost the whole of its slopes.
>
> It is first of all divided east and west into two fairly equal but dissimilar parts by a range of heights running north and south of which Dodabetta ('big mountain') is the tallest. . . .
>
> East and south of the Dodabetta range. . . the plateau. . .is extensively cultivated by the immigrant tribe known as the Badagas. This does not improve its appearance; the great forests have mostly been felled and their place taken by the poorest low scrub or by fields of miserable cereals surrounding the squat red-tiled houses of numerous hamlets; the country is deeply scoured by every shower of rain until the infertile red and yellow sub-soil clays are laid bare; and, owing to the Badagas' former custom of

after a few hours. This seemingly trivial belief had a hygienic importance, for it meant that fresh milk would be used quickly and not kept, lest the tabu about boiling be violated. If milk were allowed to "boil up" (i.e., curdle) *of its own accord*, this was taken as an omen of imminent danger or death for the household, and thus a very serious matter indeed.

The effect upon Badaga health of the changes in drinking habits outlined above was reinforced by other cultural practices, specifically in regard to buffalo dung and spitting. Various maps of Badaga villages made in the first half of the nineteenth century show that several stone kraals were located just outside each village. This means that the fecal matter of buffalo herds was confined to a certain place; (I have myself seen dung over a foot deep in some kraals). Unsavoury though these places must have been, they ensured that the dung was not spread throughout the habitation area of each village, and this substantially reduced "the chance of transference of enzootic and epizootic diseases to man" (Alland 1970: 56). As the value of farmland for tea and potato cultivation grew, especially during the present century, the Badaga population increased dramatically but the size of the cattle herds dwindled. The present-day situation is therefore that Badaga population density is vastly higher than it was, but the risks of cattle-borne infection are proportionately much less because the lack of grazing has forced them to make heavy reductions in the size of their herds and abandon many of the kraals.

As we shall see below (2.11), indiscriminate spitting was not allowed in and near the home or temple. Spittoons were used inside the house; and a proverb stressed that, "If you ask for an obligation it is essential to see the right people: it is essential to spit in the proper place." With this attitude prevalent, the spread of various viruses and of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* has been greatly curtailed. The regular washing of the body and shaving of pubic hair described below (2.9, 2.13) have also contributed to health by restricting the incidence of bodily fungi and lice-borne diseases (Alland 1970: 58). In nearly all villages the houses are built in parallel lines with solid stone or brick walls partitioning each house from its neighbours. In Ke:ti, a typical village in this respect, it was found that on the average each row of houses was separated from those in front and behind it by a distance of 10 meters, which was mostly the span of the courtyards. This relative lack of crowding of living space has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

also contributed to a reduction in the spread of viruses, particularly as the cattle are generally kept away from these courtyards fronting the houses.

The ecological significance of these various beliefs and practices is that as the Nilgiri population increased in the nineteenth century and some village streams began to be polluted by this new pressure, the Badagas managed to avoid some contamination by switching from drinking stream water and fresh milk to tea, coffee and sometimes alcohol, all of which would be relatively free of bacterial organisms. The new balance with the environment that this change brought about was certainly one factor in the remarkable increase in the Badaga population ever since the advent of the British (Diagram 1).

At the same time that this change in drinking habits was occurring their eating habits were undergoing an equally radical transformation. In part this was due to the several dozen types of fruit, grain and vegetable introduced from Europe by British settlers and adopted by most Badagas (2.1, Table 2; Hockings 1973: 867). The variety of their diet was thus greatly improved. Also the earlier habit of eating a midday meal, often in open air (Harkness 1832: 111), tended to cease as more and more Badaga adults began working for an hourly or daily wage on the plantations and construction projects initiated by the British, and as increasing numbers of children spent the day in school. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it thus became usual for Badagas to consume only two meals a day, generally in their own homes, one at sunrise and the other in the evening. The importance of this practice from a hygienic viewpoint was that, because flies are normally active only during daytime, "eating at night or in the early morning may protect food from fly-borne contamination" (Alland 1970: 59). Any change of diet or of custom that tended to reduce the human intake of bacterial organisms was reflected in the greatly increased life expectancy during the past century and a half.

1.8. By the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries successful exploration of the botanical realm and this steadily increasing Badaga population had, through a process of interaction and by individual experiments, observations of animal browsing, or other acts of discovery about which we can know nothing, developed the third phase in their medical history — the full-fledged therapeutic system described in this book. As an increasingly heavy work-load was

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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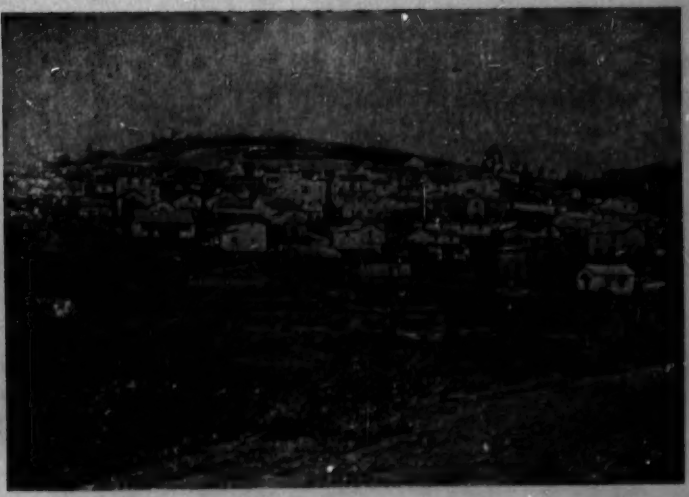

Ka:te:ri, a representative village

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A work-yard in O:ranayi village

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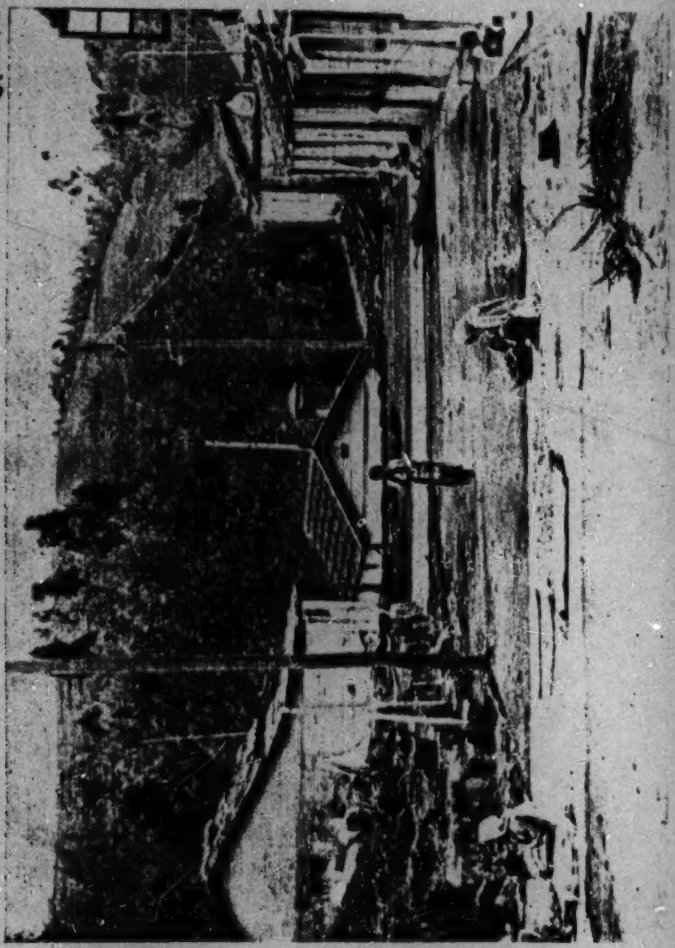

[following p. 248-B]

AW50 Badaga AW50

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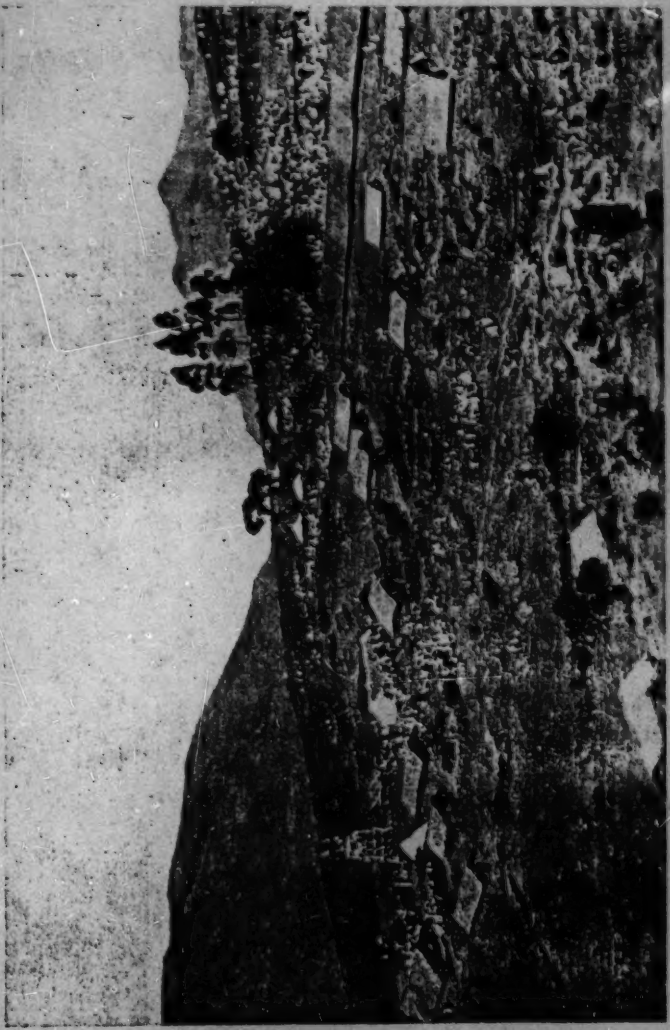

Pl. 14

[following p. 248-N]

615 phratries, however — which they rank in various orders to create a kind of caste hierarchy. One widely accepted view ranks the various groups of Badagas in this descending order:

1) Wodeyas, an orthodox Lingayat phratry;

2) Haruvas, sometimes called Badaga Brahmins;

3) Lingayats (exclusive of Wodeya Lingayats);

4) Kaggusis, a small vegetarian group;

5) Gaudas, more commonly called "Badagas" because they make up the vast majority of the entire Badaga community;

6) Kumbaras;

7) Bedas;

8) Toreyas.

184 (615) 433 •361 Visible cultural differences between the various groups of Badagas are very slight. All Badagas are basically agriculturists who also keep a few cattle; all live in villages made up of rows of houses running in parallel lines across the sheltered slopes of a hill (Thurston 1909: I, 75; Ranga 1934: 1, 5; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 246); all are subject to the same indigenous politico-legal system; all maintain the same kind of interdependence with the other Nilgiri tribes. Although the endogamy of some of these groups might tempt us to call them jatis, and although some kind of a caste hierarchy is discernible, they are unlike the multi-caste villages of the plains in that there is no economic specialization to distinguish each group, there are no "caste" councils, and it is very exceptional for members of more than one of these groups to inhabit the same hamlet.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

B Ko 463 B [77]

basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, hide curers, potters, and musicians. Badagas worked as laborers when Englishmen started living on the Nilgiris, but have increasingly obtained clerical and professional employment. Badagas and Kotas use seasonal livestock centers to graze herds of buffaloes and cattle on the temperate grasslands. The Badagas have established a sacred buffalo herd and dairy-temple at Bergani (Figure 1). Through the cooperation of employed Kasuvas, they also manage to keep buffaloes and cattle in the Mysore Ditch (Figure 2).

B Ko 231 [648]

Excluding some Badagas dwelling in dispersed houses, Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad occupy hamlets. Both depend upon rice grown in wet fields. There are assorted gardens near their houses, and the Badagas grow millets on upland dry fields. As on the upper Nilgiris, Kotas are differentiated from the Badagas by their trades. Some Badagas labor on nearby plantations.

B Ko 184 241 361 B [64]

2. The Philosophic Base

B 121

The premise. The interpretive approach employed in following chapters is based on the premise that members of a small culture who occupy a similar environment will repeatedly adjust and utilize the landscape in a set pattern, or in set patterns, conforming to their needs and technological capacities. Because the members are conformists, they build similar occupance forms, arrange the forms in the same fashion, and use the landscape about their dwellings according to the economy related to their culture. Adjustments to environments by members of many small cultures, therefore, result in typically

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Toda AW60

B 171 prosperity. Badagas also turned to horizontal transhumance motivated by seasonal variations in rainfall. Their temporarily used western livestock centers are called <u>hundis</u>. In the Mysore Ditch, north of the Nilgiri massif (Figures 1 and 2), the Badagas found another exploitable niche. Badaga livestock kept there all year are cared B 231 for by Kasuvas. Livestock centers with house types occupied by [361] (648) Kasuvas are related to the symbiotic Badaga-Kasuva relationship. Although agricultural Kotas may have inhabited the upper Nilgiris Ko 231 for over a millennium, only a few residents from Kirgoj graze buffaloes out of temporarily inhabited livestock centers on the temperate grasslands.

B 121 128 The following steps guide narration in this and later chapters: Generalized outlines of occupance patterns (equated with varying ways in which men have occupied landscapes) are followed by data relating to distinctive dwellings and sacred structures (occupance forms) labeled types. Discussion then shifts to economic activities altering landscapes around occupance sites to the greatest degree. Other economic activities altering landscapes to either a lesser or negligible degree are then discussed. Discourse turns to trades and services generated by members of the group under consideration and leading to economic intercourse with outsiders. Lastly, employment in economies generated by outsiders is considered. If a step is not applicable, it is omitted. In the case of Badaga, Badaga-Kasuva, and Kota occupance patterns described in this chapter, narration does not move beyond economic activities altering landscapes to a marked degree.

Because Nilgiri pastoralists have played such a vital role in

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50 ●
Toda AW60

T 174

Todas had apparently stopped hunting game by historic times. T 136 If they were part-time hunters when first arriving on the upper Nilgiris, they would have found game in abundance. Among the game animals are two deer, muntjac (Muntiacus muntjak Zimm.), sambar (Rusa unicolor Kerr.), and a wild goat, the Nilgiri tahr (Hemitragus hylocrius Blyth). Gaurs (Bibos gaurus H. Smith) from lower Nilgiri slopes and adjacent lowlands once periodically ascended to higher elevations, but no longer do so.[8]

T 175 294

Harkness (1832: 15) observed Toda women stitching edges of cloths to be used for clothing, so needlework among the women is not something taught them by missionaries. However, missionaries have done much to encourage embroidery among the women. 294 297 434 439 The Church of South India, Ootacamund, provides cloth and thread to Toda women, who receive a portion of the proceeds from embroidered cloth sales. The Madras Government has also established stores to sell products made by Todas and other tribals. T 463 Some Todas have become salaried employees performing such tasks as gardening or forest watching. M97 One is an educated evangelist working for the Seventh Day Adventist Mission in Coonoor, and another is a nurse trained in England. T 434 457 An income source for a few Toda families is the money paid by tourists visiting the more accessible hamlets.

2. Badaga and Kasuva Pastoralists

B ● 361 B 433 (648)

By taking advantage of temperate grasslands, Badagas were able to establish a dairy-temple center at Bargani and elsewhere practice transhumance like the Todas. They have also made economic gains by

234 778 (793) pasture on neighboring slopes, and processes milk into clarified butter. This, as the sacred clarified butter of the Badagas, is used in lamps within the dairy-temple and for ritual at Badaga festivals or temples. Any Badaga male may visit the Bergani dairy-temple and (237) (312) drink buttermilk given to him by the priest. Because women are polluting, no woman may enter the dairy-temple complex itself. However, (262) women of nearby Bergani hamlet come daily to an established point at (562) an uncontaminating distance from the dairy-temple and there receive (783) buttermilk for household consumption. Buttermilk from processed sacred milk is also drunk by the priest. The priest never eats meat 793 while in office and cooks his own vegetarian food. All grains, vege- (262) tables, and other foodstuffs needed by him are supplied by visitors (431) or neighboring Bergani Badagas.

796 (788) The festival honoring Masthi Hethai takes place on a Monday in mid-January. Badaga males from all over the Nilgiris come with their Hethai sticks to worship the goddess (Plate III, B). Women may also (562) attend, but must remain an uncontaminating distance away from sacred (293) places. Men and women wear new white clothing, must not bring any- (262) thing made with leather, and eat no meat during the festival. At the (784) festival's climax, two entranced priests believed to be possessed by Masthi Hethai predict crop yields in the coming main crop season (793) (karbokan) and inform a few men that their wives will shortly conceive. (241) Daily and festival rituals at Bergani are thus parts of a fertility (842) cult related to the Badaga's economy and future prosperity.

234 •361 Badaga hundis. The Badagas have for a long time used seasonal

234 centers called hundis, which consist of temporarily occupied huts and
(361) cattle-pens. The hundis, located on western upper Nilgiri grasslands,
are inhabited while buffaloes and cattle are grazed near them in the
(221) dry season (Figure 2). The herds are brought westward in February or
March and are herded eastward in May or June. During the days of the
(177) British Raj and before large grassland tracts had been planted with
acacia or eucalyptus trees, there were more hundis than at present.
A listing of former hundis known to Ithalar and Manjanad Badagas, along
with abandoned hundi sites seen during fieldword, testify to this fact.
234 All persons using hundis must obtain grazing permits from the Madras
656 Forest Department in Ootacamund. A basic fee of 2.50 rupees and an
additional charge of 50 nayapice (100 nayapice equal one rupee) per
buffalo and 25 nayapice per cattle head is paid for a three-month per-
mit. Badagas using grasslands must follow all the Madras Forest
Department and Nilgiri Game Association regulations. Because the
(177) Madras Forest Department desires to end, slowly and tactfully, the
use of hundis, opportunities are pressed when Badagas living in them
are found trespassing the law. Grazing permits may then be revoked,
but a series of fines will also discourage Badagas from using the
western grasslands.

234 The occupance pattern at each hundi is basically the same, but
361 there is no distinct hut type associated with hundis. In establish-
ing Bhavani Hundi, used in 1963, Badagas took full advantage of ter-
rain (Figure 11). The hundi is located in an area with more grassland
than shola, where no trees have been planted yet (Plate III, C). The
cattle-pen is bound by steep slopes down to two streams, a piled stone

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

234 wall, and a bough barricade. The dwelling-hut has a low sleeping
• 361 level, the necessary churn-pole for processing milk, and a fireplace
(342) set in a low platform. Five calf-huts surround the dwelling-hut, and there is also a separate calf-pen. All the hut walls were constructed with posts placed next to each other, and roofs were thatched. Kinkara Hundi, also used in 1963 and located close to Bhavani Bundi, is situated next to a stream and extensive sholn (Figure 12). Post, branch, and log fences enclose a large circular cattle-pen, a smaller cattle-pen, and a calf-pen. There are three calf-huts next to a
(343) dwelling hut. The calf-huts have post walls, and the dwelling-hut has stone walls. Grass thatching was placed over all the roofs.

During the 1963 season only one group of Badaga shepherds was
234 contacted by the writer (Plate III, B). The seven men taking turns
361 in living at Kinkara Hundi were herding 92 buffaloes and 40 cattle.
(221) Livestock driven westward in February were to be taken back in May. The herders came from Ithalar and Poratti, where they left wives and other relatives during the dry season preceding the main agricultural
234 season. Milk was daily supplied by the Badagas to tea shops near the
439 upper Bhavani dam site, where all activities ceased during the westerly monsoon. Clarified butter was sold in the Ootacamund shandy.
(484) The daily walk to the tea shops was about six miles one way, while on periodic walks to Ootacamund by a different herder each time a dis-
262 tance exceeding 20 miles was covered. Grains and other edibles were
(439) obtained from homes, stalls near the dam site, and the Ootacamund shandy. Milk and milk products, excluding clarified butter, also
234 formed a part of their diet. Livestock were being milked only in the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 691

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva AW63

NOTES

[1]The trend had started by 1905 (Rivers 1906: 23-24).

[2]A Toda green funeral ends with the deceased's cremation. Relics of the deceased, such as hair and portions of the skull, are kept for the second dry funeral. Ritual performed over the relics in a dry funeral resembles ritual used in the green funeral, and the relics are finally burned in an azaram. Kotas also have green and dry funerals. In contrast to Todas, the dry funeral honors all who have died during a year. Thus, on a set date, funeral ritual is performed over the relics of Kota community members who have died since the last dry funeral.

[3]For convenience, the terms used by Rivers (1906) are adhered to in this section pertaining to Todas. For information regarding ritual and uses of the two fireplaces in the Mŏdr dairy-temple, see Rivers 1906: 91-92.

[4]Wrestling with bulls on pastoral tracts in the sixth century A.D. is described in the Tamilian work, Mullaikkali. The sporting bulls varied from the wild gaur, or a close relative, to a fully domesticated bull with white spots on brown skin. That the sport was dangerous is emphasized by the fact that eventually the bulls' horns became "red with blood and had guts winding around them." As "the son of the buffalo-herd" is also mentioned, the same people were probably herding buffaloes (Iyengar 1929: 578-580).

[5]The Raa Phasé Pardi tribesmen of Maharashtra still employ cattle and cloth screens to approach game (Kosambi 1967: 104).

[6]This data was obtained from Kwodron, Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Coonoor, 1965.

[7]Murray B. Emeneau has written about Christian Todas who turned to agriculture (Emeneau 1939: 93-106). For information concerning agriculture near Toda hamlets, the writer is indebted to Anthony Walker.

[8]In 1865 a hunter described a fight to the finish between a gaur and tiger near a camp located by the small Upper Bhavani Stream on the upper Nilgiris. The hunter's friend shot two gaurs near the fight location (Old Shekarry 1865: 241, 252-257).

[9]The tentative period is based upon an approximate period established through archaeological work conducted by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and artifactual finds (Wheeler 1959: 162-163).

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50 ●
Kota AW55

B Ko 433 [241] Ko 433 and other cereals, and probably from their kitchen gardens obtained most produce which was bartered or sold. In the later part of the last century shifting slash-burn agriculture was legally abolished. During this century the Badagas and Kotas abandoned the use of plows and turned to commercial potato production. Economic differentiation between the two groups is based mainly on the fact that Kotas have been partially supported by basketry, blacksmithing, carpentry, hide curing, pot making, and the playing of music. These supplementary activities of the Kotas, practiced to varying degrees by other Indian groups, are commonly associated with low social ranking.

1. The Badagas

B • 361 [175] [311] B [342] Occupance pattern. Most Badaga hamlets and villages are located above 6,000 feet and east of the grasslands inhabited mainly by Todas (Figure 2). Harkness' description of Hanjanad before 1832 indicates that the basic Badaga occupance pattern remains unchanged. There was cultivated land around the village, and cattle grazed on nearby grasslands. Houses aligned horizontally into two house-rows on a hill side had joined front porches facing the down slope. A flat courtyard before each house-row was used to hand-thresh and dry grain in the sun. B 243 [350] [360] Both courtyards were edged on the outside by low stone walls. At one end of the village there was a compacted circle on which cattle trod out grain, and at the other end there were several cattle enclosures (Harkness 1833: 36-37). B 241 [361] Badaga farmers continue to live together in communities, and they cultivate nearby kitchen gardens plus near to distant dry fields (Plate X, A). Coffee, tea, and multilayer gardens

241 with mixed plants are also maintained, but these gardens may be miles
away from their owners' houses and on outer Nilgiri slopes. Because
423 land is divided equally among sons upon a father's death, extensive
428 land fragmentation has taken place. To prevent further fragmentation,
there is now a tendency for sons to share and jointly manage land.
311 Communal pastures are close enough to permit the keeping of livestock
361 in communities. Individually owned and communal plots covered with
245 acacia, eucalyptus, and temperate fruit trees now occur near Badaga
137 communities. Due to intensive or slowly continued temperate forest
318 clearance, only a few small remnant patches of natural forest remain
on the slopes near many hamlets and villages.

The outstanding features of Badaga hamlets and villages are the
361 house-rows with compacted earth courtyards edged by low walls (Figure
351 17). House rows within a single community usually parallel each other
and are frequently aligned in an easterly-westerly direction, but on
flatter terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. Because
861 the Badagas consider it sinful to throw waste water toward the sun,
364 Lord Shiva's emblem, through alignment of houses in an easterly-west-
783 erly direction housewives may threw waste water through the back door
or over the front courtyard wall without throwing it toward the sun.
841 One dwelling within a community house-row is set apart as a confinement
place for menstruating women or women undergoing a postnatal pollution
368 period. In addition to dwellings, house-like temples are built into
243 house-rows. Grain is threshed and agricultural produce or firewood is
313 dried on the courtyards. These also serve as playgrounds for children,
857 as sites for performance of ceremonial rites, and as dance arenas
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S: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989 AMSO Badaga AMSO

DIAGRAM II: MAP OF THE NILGIRI PLATEAU

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Figure 11. A Badaga seasonal livestock center

(1800-1963)

AN50 Badaga AN50
Kota AN55
Kurumba AN56
Toda AN60
Madras Tribes AN63
Kasuva

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Figure 12. Another Badaga seasonal livestock center

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6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50 ●
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60

TABLE I

PRESENT DAY PASTORALISTS VERSUS IRULAS AND KURUMBAS

Categories omitted are not applicable.

GROUP	OCCUPANCE SITES	ASSOCIATED CENTERS	OCCUPANCE TYPES	MAIN ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY
TODAS	-Permanent and seasonal hamlets -Dairy-temple centers	-Separate female and male cremation centers	-Barrel-vaulted, front-gabled, and side-gabled dwellings -Conical and barrel-vaulted dairy-temples -Barrel-vaulted funeral-temples	-Sacred and secular buffalo rearing -Sale of clarified butter; some sale of fresh milk -Income from land rental -Limited farming: potato cultivation to tea planting -Limited gathering: roots, fruits, honey -Sale of cloths embroidered by women -Employment in occupations ranging from gardening to nursing -Income from tourists
BADAGA PASTORALISTS 1) Gerpani	-One permanent dairy-temple center		-Inner dairy-temple functionally the same as side-gabled temples in house-rows (see Table IV)	-Sacred buffalo rearing -Production of clarified butter for rituals -Income from an annual festival; donations from worshipers
2) Mandis	-Seasonal livestock centers			-Buffalo and cattle rearing -Sale of clarified butter and milk
3) Badaga - Kasuma Ilaikan	-Permanent livestock centers		-Front-gabled and side-gabled houses	-Buffalo and cattle breeding -Reserve grazing for upper Nilgiri livestock -Sale of clarified butter
KOTA PASTORALISTS	-Two seasonal livestock centers			-Buffalo rearing -Some sale of clarified butter
IRULAS	-Permanent hamlets	-Burial-memorial and worship centers	-Side-gabled houses -Hipped-roof memorial-temples	-Agriculture: multilayer, single layer, and kitchen gardens - dry field crop cultivation -Livestock rearing: chickens, goats, sheep, some cattle -Limited gathering: yams, fruits, honey -Limited hunting: small to large game, jungle fowl -Trading of homemade baskets, brooms, clarinets, winnowing-fans, gathered honey -Priests' fees -Income from work on plantations
KURUMBAS	-Hamlets, semi-nucleated communities, and dispersed houses	-Burial-cremation, burial-cremation-memorial, memorial, and worship centers		-Agriculture: similar to the Irulas' -Livestock rearing: no cattle, but rearing of chickens, goats, sheep -Limited gathering: similar to the Irulas' -Limited hunting: similar to the Irulas' -Trading of homemade base flutes, drying baskets, bisbus vessels, gathered honey -Fees for serving as musicians, healers, magicians -Income from work on plantations

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963). 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50	Badaga	AW50
	Kota	AW55
	Kurumba	AW56
	Toda	AW60
	Madras Tribes	AW63
	Kasuva	

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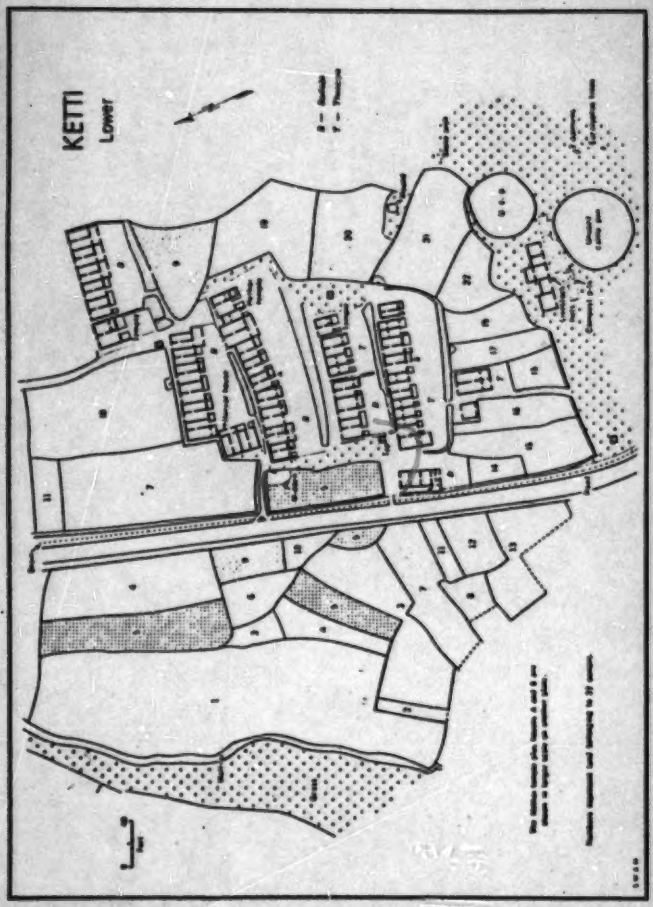

Figure 17. A portion of a Badaga village

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

857 during festive occasions. Badaga women frequently, sometimes daily,
796 wash over sections fronting their houses with cowdung solution to keep
535 the courtyards flattened out and cleansed. Low earthen or stone walls
956 edging courtyards define property limits and add to the privacy of
house inhabitants living within house-rows immediately below. Badaga
351 women sometimes store firewood or keep flower gardens on the wall tops,
but they are usually grass covered.

Separate shrines and temples stand in communities or on grassy
968 plots outside. Some Badagas own storage huts where agricultural
implements, fertilizer, seed-potatoes, and agricultural produce are
966 stored. Small coffee, tea, and supply shops are increasing in number
within Badaga villages. Hot beverages, as well as hotmeats, sweetmeats,
rice, and curry, are served in the coffee and tea shops. From supply
shops are obtained cigarettes, matches, grains, pulses, and vegetables.
Areca nut, betel leaf, lime, and perhaps tobacco, which are combined
and chewed, are also sold. Blacksmiths, building and supply contrac-
tors, carpenters, jewellers, and other entrepreneurs have established
968 businesses in Badaga villages. A single government office, or combin-
ation of offices such as panchayat, police, post, and telegraph offices
may also be present. Church or government schools are now located in
or near many communities.

231 Hamlets and villages still have circular cattle-pens built in
(361) natural depressions or enclosed with stone walls, but cattle-hut con-
struction is slowly leading to abandonment of the pens. Goats and
sheep are kept at night on raised platforms within goat- and sheep-
(654) huts. Monetary inducements offered by the Madras Government have

244 ridges constructed in the same plots are planted with broad beans (Vicia faba L.) or peas. Kitchen gardens are typically better manured and cared for. Because they are nearer to community cattle-pens and (514) livestock huts, more manure is likely to be placed on them. Due to the absence of toilets in houses, community dwellers naturally defecate [364] more frequently on nearby plots. And lastly, women recurrently spread kitchen ashes or trash over kitchen gardens. When family members have 241 time to spare, they may easily care for kitchen garden plots near the 592 communities in which they live. Women work on them between their 462 household duties, and men who are regularly employed work on them during off duty hours.

175 Shifting agriculture. In 1800 the Badagas were practicing shift-
241 ing slash-burn (kottukadu) agriculture (Buchanan 1870, 1: 462). As
• 361 later writers described Badaga hamlets and villages in terms of perma-
nence, it is conjectured that Badagas then dwelt in permanent communi-
ties and cultivated different plots on the nearby countryside from year
241 to year. From the time Englishmen started to administer the Nilgiris
651 until the late 1800s, the bhurty revenue system existed over the upper
Nilgiris. Under this system a farmer could hold up to ten times the
taxed land he actually cultivated in any single year. Therefore, a man
who paid taxes on five acres could hold nine other five-acre plots
scattered over the upper Nilgiris. Plot alternation accompanied by the
necessary clearance of vegetation off fallowed land not cultivated for
years, or off newly claimed forest land, formed a system of shifting
agriculture. Another system was followed in the western Kundahs, which

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50 ●
Kota AW55

CHAPTER VI

NILGIRI WYNAAD BADAGAS AND KOTAS

B 175 166 ● 361 182 [184] B [133] B [132] B [177] B [171] Ko 241 184

The few scattered Badaga communities in the Nilgiri Wynaad have resulted from slow and continuing Badaga colonization which may extend back to a pre-1800 date. The ancestors of Kotas occupying a single hamlet probably came to serve the Todas who once lived in the Wynaad. Although Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas and upper Nilgiri Badagas are culturally affiliated, the occupance patterns related to them vary (Table IV). Several factors are responsible for the variations: Because the Wynaad is covered by a plateau with rolling hills and occasional ranges, topographic conditions are ideal for growing wet rice in broad valleys and dry field crops on hills. The climate is warm enough to permit the growth of wet rice, but too dry for two rice crops to be harvested annually from a single field. Dry seasonal conditions, reflected by estivating trees, also lead to the growth of only one dry field crop per year. Combined with the physical influences are the Malabarian, Malayalee cultural influences. Thus, Badaga house construction, employmen_ of Paniya laborers, garden maintenance, and manner of wet rice cultivation with aid of implements drawn by buffaloes follow patterns associated with their neighbors. Kalac Kotas at Gudalur, who live in atypical houses and have lost their dry fields, continue to cultivate wet rice in the same manner as the Badagas. Nilgiri Wynaad Kota trades are similar to those of upper Nilgiri Kotas.

1. The Badagas

Occupance patterns. The Badaga communities of Basukolli, Devala, Kolapalli, Marakarai, Hundhatti, Pandalur, and Soladi are scattered over the Nilgiri Wynaad (Figure 2). They lie in sections with deciduous forest remnants and patches covered by bamboo thickets. The tendency for Badagas to live in nucleated communities according to ancestral custom is in the Wynaad opposed by the tendency for people to scatter over the landscape according to Malabarian custom. As a result, at one community members live in a hamlet, at another some live in a hamlet while others own houses dispersed over the nearby landscape, and at a third all Badagas dwell in dispersed houses within the area covered by the community. To cite specific examples, Marakarai has a hamlet, Devala has a hamlet and dispersed houses, and all Soladi houses are dispersed. Nucleated development follows three steps: 1) a single house is or a few joined houses are first constructed next to a courtyard, 2) a new house is then positioned adjacent to the courtyard and approximately vertical to an antecedent house, and 3) another house is built on the other side of the courtyard and approximately parallel to the previously constructed house (Figure 22). Figuratively, development leads to change from a straight line to an L-shaped to a U-shaped house arrangement. Single dispersed houses are also fronted by courtyards. The growing of at least one sacred tulasi plant within a small rectangular enclosure on each courtyard is a distinctive Badaga cultural trait. Frequent sweepings with a cowdung solution over courtyards, ground surrounding houses,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 170]

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva AW63

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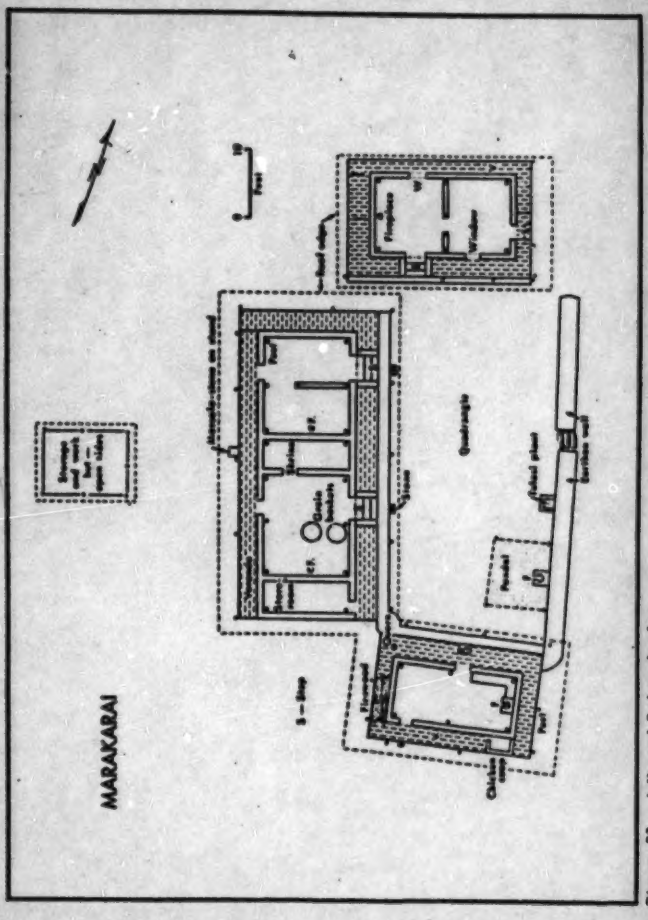

Figure 22. A Wynaad Badaga hamlet

351 and house floors is not only an ancient Hindu custom, but a useful
356 one in that it helps keep termites away.

Rice is everywhere the predominant food crop, and wet rice
243 production is concentrated in broad valley bottoms (Plate XII, A).
As a result, valley sides are seldom terraced. All Badaga houses,
361 whether they be within nucleated centers or scattered around, are
located on hillsides or hilltops next to lower-lying wet rice fields.
Women thus have to fetch water from streams in the valleys below.
343 Occasionally, small huts or shelters (pandals) for storage or work
368 are erected near houses. Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas do not build temples
in house-rows, but do construct temples in separate worship centers
231 with pagoda trees. After the single wet rice harvest, buffaloes and
a few cattle are kept at night in periodically shifted circular bam-
boo pens erected on dried fields. While rice is growing, the same
livestock are housed nightly in huts with no set form located at some
distance from dwellings. Threshing floors and stacked hay lie near
241 dwellings. Most houses are surrounded by multilayer gardens which
offer cooling shade during each dry season and protection against
torrential rain with high winds during the rainy monsoon seasons.
Close to houses there may also be small kitchen gardens or single
layer gardens. Scattered dry fields on hills are located near or at
231 some distance from houses. Livestock (goats and sheep were not seen
by me) are grazed on 1) rice stubble left after each rice harvest,
2) grasses growing over dry fields untilled for some time, 3) grasses
within nearby degenerate dry and moist deciduous forest or bamboo
368 thickets, and 4) savannas. In the area associated with each community

368 there is a burial-cremation center. All communities are in easy walk-
•361 ing distance from roads, and narrow paths--sometimes running over
487 dikes separating wet rice fields--are used to gain access to roads.

Houses, temples, and shrines. Excluding certain resemblances
342 in the interior plan, the Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga house type is quite
[184] different from the one used by upper Nilgiri Badagas. Each house has an earthen platform, often partially made with fine earth from termite hills (Figures 22 and 23). Six large posts embedded in the platform are surmounted by pole plates supporting a series of rafters. Out from these posts, on or along the edge of the platform, there are additional lesser posts surmounted by pole plates supporting the rafters. The steep-sided hipped roof slopes down from a short horizontal crest to a height of about five feet from the ground (Plate
(824) XII, B). Most roofs have rice straw thatch over bamboo strips lashed onto rafters, but a few houses now have tiled roofs. A rectangular house wall raised around the six large posts is constructed with mud similar to that used in the platform. The wall is built around wooden door frames and occasional window frames. Because there is space left between the wall and platform edges, a veranda runs around the house. An entranceway edged by shallow walls, typically made by Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas, often runs across the veranda. In a house-row some side walls serve two houses, the roof crest is elongated, and a ver-
(353) anda usually runs around the combined houses. A shrine or storage room built next to a normal dwelling is incorporated into a house-row. If a house front is considered to be the side edging a courtyard,